UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

Hugo Grotius: A Tercentenary Tribute

By EDWIN D. MEAD

American Notes

By SYDNEY STRONG

The Story of My Mind

By GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCV MONDAY, AUGUST 10, 1925 NUMBER 21

A SUMMER EVENING

The moon, nearly full, slowly climbs from the sea;
The sunshine still lingers on the tops of the hills in the north,
While the great shadow of night sweeps over the forest,
Amid whose sweet pines and the deep green of the spruce
And the white-limbed birches, our dear holiday home,
Almost embowered, looks over great islands
Locking us safe from the storms. The beneficent lighthouses
Will presently gleam forth their courageous message of warning
And hope, as if to say, to each passing ship: "All's well
Above and beneath and around, on this peaceful midsummer night."
The birds and the babes are happily settling to rest
From their joyful laborious day. Good God! What beauty
The eyes of thy children may share in a single hour
Of the thoughts of thy Love!

Southwest Harbor, Maine. CHARLES F. DOLE.

UNITY has the great happiness of announcing two most important additions to the list of Foreign Representatives on its Editorial Staff. The first is DR. GILBERT REID, of Pekin, representing China. Dr. Reid was the founder, and for more than thirty years has been the leader, of the International Institute of China. Our readers will remember important articles from his pen which have appeared in our columns. He knows the people of China as do few Westerners, and views their problems from that high international standpoint which alone promises any permanent settlement of the difficulties involved. Our other new Foreign Representative is DR. NOBUICHIRO IMAOKA, professor at Japan University, Tokyo, and principal of a high school in the city called Seisoku Chugakko. He is a distinguished scholar among his people, and a trained student of western life and culture. He is greatly interested at present in the community church movement in this country, has used Mr. Holmes's book, "New Churches For Old" in his University classes, and promises a translation of the book into the Japanese tongue. We count ourselves fortunate to have two such representatives added to our Editorial Staff at just this time when such momentous events are transpiring in the Far East. More than ever shall we be able to fulfil that mission of brotherhood among the nations and races of the earth which this paper was founded to serve. "East is East and West is West," but here in these columns "the twain shall meet" in mutual understanding and goodwill.

What Hugo Grotius did for the world is amply and eloquently stated in the article by Edwin D. Mead, published in this issue in recognition of the three hundredth anniversary of the appearance of the immortal *"De Jure Belli ac Pacis."* Grotius was the "Father of International Law." He was not the first to conceive of law as governing relations between nations, any more than Darwin was the first to conceive of evolution as governing relations between natural processes. But Grotius, like Darwin, so gathered up the available thought in his field, so magnified and glorified it by his own creative thinking, and so formulated the whole into so grand a system of idea and method, that his work marks an epoch in human history. International law, in so far as we possess any such reality to-day, *began* with Hugo Grotius. All the order that we have in the world is due to him more than to any other man who has ever lived. Yet is the great Dutchman's dream but feebly realized! His task, like the task of every pioneer, awaits completion at other hands! And in this case completion must come in ways of which Grotius never had suspicion. For at the heart of Grotius's system of international relations on the basis of law, was the recognition of war. Grotius deprecated war, declared it inconsistent with Christianity, yet saw no way of getting rid of it. War, if fought for justice, he said, was a righteous thing, and thus must be given a place in social life. Grotius restrained the operations of war, delimited its area, humanized its processes, transformed it from sheer anarchic brigandage to systematic governmental policy, but in so doing he sustained it. What Grotius really did was to *institutionalize* war. This was an enormous gain as compared with all that had gone before; but, from the standpoint of the peace that is some day to come upon the earth, it crystallized an iniquity which must ultimately be destroyed. We must do in our day, that is, what Grotius could not do in his. With his spirit, and with whatever of his genius we can muster, we must write a new code of international law —this time with war not institutionalized but *de*-institutionalized, not legalized but *outlawed*. That, just three hundred years after the publication of Grotius's masterpiece, we should be seeking this very thing, is the noblest possible tribute to his memory.

As we look back upon the Scopes trial in Tennessee, we see many things—the pious judge, the earnest and able attorney-general, the electric Dudley Field Malone, the huge, giant-like Clarence Darrow, but chiefly the late William Jennings Bryan. "How are the mighty fallen!" It is easy to denounce and ridicule "the Great

Commoner," and denunciation and ridicule poured upon him in a veritable Noah's flood up to the hour of his death. We think in justice he deserved it all, and yet we were not able to join in. For, wicked and farcical as was Bryan's role in this famous case, it was at bottom a complete and final tragedy. Look at Bryan's past —frequently worthy, always winsome! He it was who captured the early progressive movement in politics in that dramatic episode in the Democratic Convention of 1896, and led it in a nation-wide campaign which prepared the way for Roosevelt and La Follette. He it was who fought bravely and brilliantly the beginnings of imperialism in this country, and later bore a mighty part in the great war for temperance. Bryan gave to America and to the world Woodrow Wilson, by making possible the latter's nomination at Baltimore in 1912. As Secretary of State in Wilson's cabinet, Bryan negotiated the long line of arbitration treaties providing for a year's delay before resort to arms—a pacifist gesture educative if not effective. Bryan had sincerity, moral passion, idealism—all expressive in a power of eloquence which ranks him among the supreme orators of modern times. But none of these achievements was reared on deep foundations. These gifts of personality sprang from no depth of soil, and grew in no cultivated furrows. William Jennings Bryan, in other words, was born without essential intelligence, and such little brains as he had were never trained or enriched with learning. His mind was basically commonplace, and dwelt from the beginning in an ignorance so vast as to be incredible. The last act of his drama, therefore, was as logical as it was pitiful. We count it a mercy to his own best fame that the curtain was so suddenly rung down.

It is difficult to think of two men more utterly unlike than R. D. Blackmore and Ferdinand Lasalle, both of whom were born in 1825 and thus celebrate their centennial anniversaries this year. Blackmore was the author of "Lorna Doone," a book which it is good to think upon in these days of hectic, savorless sex literature. This romance is a "romance" indeed—no other word can adequately describe its ineffable charm and thrilling beauty. Its love of nature, its faith in the goodness of human hearts, its reliance upon the simple verities of life, its unspoiled delight in evil punished and virtue triumphant, all these seem like echoes of an age that is gone. The book gives the suggestion that it was written when the world was young and thus still fresh and beautiful. This is the reason, perhaps, why it is immortal. It is interesting to note that "Lorna Doone" was in the beginning a failure, and that Blackmore's other books are seldom read. Yet "The Maid of Skere" at least is an able work! To turn from Blackmore to Lasalle, is to turn from literature to life, from the pen, so to speak, to the sword. Yet Lasalle was a bookman, too, and up to within a few years of his untimely death at forty, he seemed to be in a fair way to be remembered as one of the greatest of German philosophers. But the Socialist movement captured his flaming spirit, and it was he, far more than the great Marx, who organized the political forces which shook Europe for a half-century with tremblings of the revolution that was to come. Orator, pampheteer, tactitian, administrator, his was a marvellously effective personality. It is interesting to speculate what might have happened in Germany had the Great War not broken loose in 1914. Perhaps one reason why the War came as it did, was the immanence of the political consequences of Lasalle's work in the Empire. For the time this work was turned to dust and ashes. But the future is ahead, and Lasalle may yet loom higher than he does in this one hundredth year as the maker of the workers' commonwealth. One hundred years is not much—more for an author, perhaps, than for a social reformer!

Some weeks ago we published an editorial note referring to the plan of the League of Nations to publish annually an authoritative list of the world's best books. Few notes on this page have ever stirred up such resentment—yet we were only trying to be innocently satirical! It seemed to us utterly ridiculous that an organization founded to solve the enormously difficult and august problem of war and peace should seek favor by dabbling with such business as book lists—and instead of denouncing the idea with portentous seriousness, we tried simply to make fun of it. We now know what we should have known before—that satire is dangerous! But we recall this matter not to excuse ourselves, but to state that we might well have taken this League of Nations matter with some seriousness, after all. Mr. Ernest Boyd, the eminent literary critic, thinks so, at any rate, and in a recent issue of the *Independent* he takes pains to point out the menace involved in this idea of preparing a "best books" list with the Geneva stamp. This is simply an extension, he points out, of the propaganda methods discovered and organized during the War for "spoon-feeding the reading public," and thus holding them to the support of things-as-they-are.

"The League of Nations," says Mr. Boyd, "wants each country to prepare a list of its best books, which is tantamount to a species of consecration of whatever volumes are thus given the official imprimatur. Naturally, the best books will be those best suited to the interests and aims of the officials who direct or control the selection. At the same time, books excluded will be deprived of the great advertising value of such listing, and it will pay less than ever to deviate from orthodoxy."

Here is a point of view well worth thinking about. We do not suppose for a moment that in this matter the League of Nations is concocting a deep-laid plan to poison the minds of the people. But it may well be argued that the employment in this literary business of even the merely sentimental authority of such a body as the League, simply helps on that process of "goose-stepping" which is the bane of our times.

Jottings

John S. Ewart, in "The Roots and Causes of the Wars (1914-1918)," volume I, page 146:

The reason for British action in 1914 was the same as that which on many previous occasions had dictated the despatch of troops to the continent and elsewhere—namely, British interests, . . . The security of the state, as a dominating principle of state action, may be the reprobated principle of Niccola Machiavelli, but it is the principle upon which all statesmen act."

France is spending to-day 72 per cent of her total national expenditure on armaments, present wars, and past wars. And this includes not one penny in payment even of the interest on her debts in the Great War!

The Dayton trial may have been important or unimportant, but there was more sheer ballyhoo written about it in the newspapers than about any event since the War. Whether it was the New York *Herald-Tribune* man, writing his sob-stuff over the really fine young minister, Howard Byrd, who invited Mr. Potter to his pulpit and refused to surrender, or whether it was H. L. Mencken spraying his boresome epithets about the "morons" and "hill-billies" of Tennessee, it was all sheer insincerity of the worst type. The Tennesseeans may be contemptible for their ignorance, but they are at least simple and honest.

Apropos of Dayton, it may be well to point out that it was a clergyman who stood up against a hostile public opinion in that town, when a lawyer, Judge Godsey, backed down. Let us recall this fact the next time the ministers are slandered as a 100 per cent crowd of cowards and hypocrites!

A king of France it was who first marched up a hill, and then marched down again. In the same way it was a premier of France who first marched into the Ruhr, and then marched out again. We hope that the expedition of the king was not as expensive as that of the premier.

The Moroccan war is a pretty tragic affair. But it may have the good effect of wrecking France as a military power, and thus relieving Europe of the armed dictatorship at Paris which has been her curse, and the curse of all the world, ever since Versailles.

J. H. H.

American Notes

(Editorial Correspondence)

The forty-seventh annual meeting of the American Library Association—with its 2,000 librarian delegates—on the Pacific coast, July 6-11, at Seattle, should be of interest to UNITY readers. It is worth noting in the first place that the "charming summer climate" of the Coast is drawing more and more the attention of the country to the desirability of holding conventions on the Coast. For example, the librarians this last week were treated with "beautiful weather"; also the mountains (some of them rising more than 14,000 feet into the sky) with seas and lakes were a constant source of inspiration to those custodians of poetry, art and history.

As I dropped into the sessions of the Association I could not help noting the marked difference in characteristics between the librarians and the delegates to the great Foreign Trades Council who gathered recently in the same rooms of the Olympic Hotel. With the librarians, women predominated. Men still do the presiding and make most of the speeches, (Why?) but probably 95 per cent of the delegates were women, and they were exceedingly intelligent and good-looking women. They did not at all remind you of book-worms, unless one might think of them as worms that had been transformed into butterflies,—for they were radiant with the colors of today's dressing. I thought that their eyes were worthy of notice, for while they did not seem to have half the lung capacity of their brother delegates to the Trade Council, yet their eyes seemed to me to resemble highly polished microscopes. They were much quieter naturally and by training, and expressed their appreciation and approval with more intelligence and better manners. That there were not many "fundamentalists" among them was clearly in evidence when some reference was made to the "monkey-trial" or to evolution,—the topic that all America is talking about during this vacation time, a topic that is helping the newspapers to keep up circulation during the "dry days."

In matters of libraries, America probably leads the world in her efforts to bring libraries to the people. She has democratized the library as she has democratized the school. Her effort is to bring the library to all the people. Such an effort has its drawbacks as well as its good sides. While England, Germany and other countries probably furnish better libraries for research, i.e. for the student, America's idea is that the mission of the library is to bring every person into contact with a book. As is said in business, the purpose of the librarian should be "to sell" books to the people, and to all the people, even those who live "up in the hills." More and more the attempt is made to bring the library close to the people. This is done through branch libraries in the cities, or by town libraries extending borrowing privileges to people living in faraway places (even to tourists going far on a journey, though it be to foreign lands), or by means of library-wagons that traverse the country roads after the manner of the old-fashioned peddler, or book-agent. In practically all cases, if not

all, books are given out free, although occasionally a small deposit may be required, to be returned, when the book is returned. Free books, however, is the rule. The development of American libraries may be understood, by remembering this purpose to serve *all* the people with books without cost. (This little bit of socialism in a land that seems to be getting more capitalistic every year is an example of a social inconsistency that often appears in every country.)

An address by Mrs. Julia Babcock brought out what I mean. She hails from Bakersfield, California, is head of the Kern County Free Library. In California, the County "library-wagon" plies its vocation in 42 counties, working under a state law,—a law which "permits" any county to install the "County-wagon" plan. She described the people of her own county as first eager for good roads and better vehicles. After this they sought rural postal delivery and telephones, in the order named. After these came the demand for the county-wagon, with the "traveling-libraries." These libraries are sustained by means of a tax of one mill. They are for people living outside cities and towns, which have libraries. This system has been developed in California more than in any other state. The purpose is "to reach everyone in the county, even those who live so far back in the hills, that they say that 'the county library is the only thing that stands between us and utter desolation'." A large number of books are sent out also by mail, a special rate being granted within the "zone" for such shipments.

"For example," said Mrs. Babcock, "a farmer writes in to the county-seat that his wife would like to have such and such a book. . . immediately off goes the book by the first mail. It is our intention to get books where they are needed. We are reaching out after foreigners. We serve the county institutions, such as hospitals, old folks' homes, men's recreation halls at oil camps, halls of speed-cops, even tubercular institutions (such books being destroyed, at least not returned) and kiddies' camps. Even music books are supplied. If someone is making special studies, the State library steps in to help out. Some young man up in the mountains may be taking a course in engineering, we help by sending books through the mails. We seek out the children of migratory workers and catch them through the wagon. We do the same with men in prisons and jails. Our idea is that trained librarians and the library are the largest instrument for information there is in the world."

That the California plan is rapidly spreading, the great interest shown by the delegates made evident. Quite a number of states have passed laws making it possible for their counties to operate the "county-plan," but as yet out of the 3,300 counties in America only about 200 are working the plan.

I was impressed with the vigor and liberal-mindedness with which some of the speakers tackled their subject. For instance, one of the speakers was Dr. Arthur E. Bostwick, head of the St. Louis Public Library. He had just a few days before landed from a several months' trip in China. (From now on the Pacific Coast is sure increasingly to get the benefit of the opinions of "citizens who are just returned from the Orient.") He told about the libraries and culture of China. Some of the "Nordics" were made uncomfortable, when he remarked, "Remember, the Chinese were civilized when our ancestors were picking up nuts in the woods." He added that there is at present "a general friendliness toward America, as this is the only nation that hasn't been grabbing Chinese territory,—it is a feeling that should be fostered."

I was also impressed in looking over a list of current books on religion and current topics put out by the Association. Scarcely any of the books on the list would please the "fundamentalists." If America is in, as some predict, for a decade, for a battle between progressivism and reaction in religion, it is liable to reach and affect the libraries before it is over. Just now, and for a couple of years, this controversy is raging around the public schools. Leaders of fundamentalism, like Mr. Bryan, claim that that those who pay the taxes for the schools should have the right to tell what is taught in those schools. Since evolution is regarded as "destroyer of the Bible" the majority, it is contended, have the right to pass a law prohibiting the teaching of evolution. Whether the trial recently closed in the courts of the state of Tennessee will prove to be just a "passing show" (as it is regarded by the mass of onlookers) or the entering wedge for a great split in churches and politics, no one is wise enough to foretell. Great wars have come out of little events and from trifling personalities. It may happen in this case; and again it may not. As I read the list of books prepared by those intelligent librarians and noted what a small standing "fundamentalism" had in the libraries of the land and then glanced over the daily paper telling about the "monkey-trial" actually taking place in Tennessee, I could not keep back the conviction that if for any appreciable time or degree the teaching of evolution should be prohibited (and stranger things have happened) then the next institution to become the scene of conflict will be the library. And there will not be wanting people who will rise up and declare that those who pay the taxes have a right to determine what kind of books are found on the shelves of the libraries, and in a democracy the majority may decide to throw out books on evolution. It is easy to see how in certain psychological conditions in a community or state, even a quiet librarian might become a martyr. However, I find most level-headed folks prophesying that religious attacks on the schools will pass away as the Ku Klux Klan is passing. Young democracies are sure to have measles and mumps, and it is fortunate if there be nothing more serious. And meantime, "Rome is burning."

I close this account of the national convention of the librarians by referring to what President Suzzallo, of the State University of Washington, said, in the opening address. He spoke as a university man of his appreciation of what the library is doing.

In Europe it is either a tragedy or a comedy to get a book out of a library. Here, thanks to you librarians, the great warehouses of culture are operated on a different plan. The real test of education is the way the people use the libraries. If one cannot read intelligently he might just as well not have gone to school at all. . . Less teaching—more supervision of learners is the modern tendency of the school. . . . The professor of the future will be simply a good reference librarian, and the university will consist of a lot of books, an earnest student and someone who knows them both and can bring them in thoughtful accord. . . . The education which commits suicide at the end of eight, twelve or sixteen years isn't worth much. If it doesn't go on it's a poor investment—and you librarians are the people who can make it go on. . . .

No wonder that headliner in the daily morning paper described the opening session of the great convention as follows: "COLLEGE TODAY TO BE LIBRARY OF TOMORROW". . . . "Suzzallo sees University as Book Collection, Faculty Reference Staff." And the headliner was not far off—and this tendency in the development in a democracy is worth noting by those peoples who want the best for all, and who believe that to every man's mind should run the avenues of information.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Hugo Grotius: A Tercentenary Tribute

It is an impressive conjunction by which we commemorated last year the second centennial of the birth of Immanuel Kant and commemorate this year the third centennial of the publication of Hugo Grotius's "Rights of War and Peace." Grotius and Kant are the two preeminent names in the history of the long struggle to transform the world from a world of war into a world of law and order. Last year we commemorated a life, the rich and many-sided life of the greatest philosopher of modern times. This year we commemorate a book; for, although Hugo Grotius wrote many books and his life was crowded with illustrious achievements, his epoch-making book on "The Rights of War and Peace," however slowly the nations have realized it, struck the death-blow to the barbarisms of war and the war system and laid firmly the foundations of international law. The printing of the work, which we read had taken four months, was completed at Paris in March, 1625, and the edition was sent to the fair at Frankfort, where it was published soon after.

There is in England a Grotius Society. It is devoted to the promotion of the great interests of international law and peace in the service of which Grotius was so bold and influential a pioneer. Its president is Lord Cave, the present Lord Chancellor of Great Britain. One of its recent publications was devoted to the Constitution of the United States and the lessons which its history furnishes for those engaged today in the creation of an orderly and united world. It were much to be wished that there were a Grotius Society in America. It would be the natural agency here, as the London society is in England, to make adequate provision for the observance of this third centennial of the "Rights of War and Peace," and would count such preparation its legitimate and imperative vocation. We must trust that the various Peace organizations, the law schools and the universities will each in its place perform the functions of a Grotius society.

On the Fourth of July, 1899, the members of the International Peace Conference at The Hague assembled at the tomb of Grotius, in the great church at Delft, to do honor to his memory. It was by invitation of our American commissioners that they gathered there. In accordance with instructions from the President, and in behalf of the people of the United States, the chairman of the commission, Honorable Andrew D. White, laid on the tomb a massive silver wreath, combining "the oak—representative of civic virtue—and the laurel—representative of victory," and inscribed:

> To the Memory of Hugo Grotius, in Reverence and Gratitude, from the United States of America, on the Occasion of the Interantional Peace Conference at The Hague, July 4th, 1899.

The wreath encloses two shields, one bearing the arms of the House of Orange and of the Netherlands, the other the arms of the United States, both shields bound firmly together.

> "They represent," said Mr. White, "the gratitude of our country, one of the youngest among the nations of the earth, to this old and honored commonwealth, gratitude for great services in days gone by, gratitude for recent courtesies and kindnesses; and, above all, they represent to all time a union of hearts and minds in both lands for peace between all nations."

The address delivered by Mr. White on this noteworthy occasion was one of the most eloquent and adequate tributes ever paid to Grotius. He felt deeply that Grotius had been the first great incarnation of the spirit and principle whose continued working in the world had at last brought this International Peace Conference; and he spoke not simply as an American, but as an international man, a citizen of the world, feeling empowered to speak words of gratitude not only from his own country, but from all countries represented at the Conference.

> "Naturally," he said to the great body of commissioners gathered in the church, "we have asked you to join us in this simple ceremony; for his name has become too great to be celebrated by his native country alone—it can only be fitly celebrated in the presence of representatives from the whole world. For the first time in human history there are now assembled delegates with a common purpose from all the nations; and they are fully represented here. Not only is this the first conference of the entire world, but it has as its sole purpose a further evolution of the principles which Grotius first of all men developed thoroughly and stated effectively."

Mr. White did not fail to remark upon the special significance of the time and place as concerned America. The day of the meeting was the anniversary of our national independence; and from the haven of Delft—the ancient city in which Grotius was born, whose pavements he trod when a child, and in whose great church at last he was laid to rest—"sailed the *Speedwell,* bearing the Pilgrim Fathers, who in a time of obstinate and bitter persecution brought to the American continent the germs of that toleration which had been especially developed among them during their stay in the Netherlands, and of which Grotius was an apostle." He noticed the particular debt of the United States to Grotius, the extent to which his thought had penetrated and influenced the great mass of our people, the eagerness of the young men of our colleges and universities to understand the fundamental principles of international rights and duties, and the work of such American scholars as Wheaton, Kent, Field, Woolsey, Dana and Lawrence in developing the ideas to which Grotius first gave life and strength.

He mentioned three noteworthy American examples of the fruitage of these ideas: the act of Lincoln, who, amid the fury of the Civil War, recognized the necessity of a more humane code for the conduct of our armies and entrusted its preparation to Francis Lieber, Grotius's leading American disciple; the magnanimity of General Grant in accepting Lee's surrender; and the generosity of the whole people when the bitter contest closed, and the fraternity of the blue and the gray on Decoration Day.

> "Surely I may claim for my countrymen," he said, "that, whatever other shortcomings and faults may be imputed to them, they have shown themselves influenced by those feelings of mercy and humanity which Grotius, more than any other, brought into the modern world."

Noticing the frequent criticism of Grotius as the main source of the doctrine which founds human rights upon an early social compact, Mr. White said:

> It would ill become me, as a representative of the United States, to impute to Grotius as a fault a theory out of which sprang the nationality of my country; a doctrine embodied in that Declaration of Independence which is this day read to thousands on thousands of assemblies in all parts of the United States.

Noticing the frequent objection that Grotius dwelt too little on what international law really was, and too much on what in his opinion it ought to be, he asked whether it is certain after all that Grotius was wrong in this, and whether international law may not more and

more draw inspiration from "the Power which works for Righteousness"; and he said:

An American recalling that greatest of all arbitrations ever known, the Geneva Arbitration of 1872, naturally attributes force to the reasoning of Grotius. The heavy damages which the United States asked at that time and which Great Britain honorably paid were justified mainly, if not wholly, not on the practice of nations then existing, but upon what it was claimed *ought to be* the practice; not upon positive law, but upon natural justice; and that decision forms one of the happiest landmarks in modern times; it ended all quarrel between the two nations concerned and bound them together more firmly than ever.

It would not be possible to pay a loftier tribute than that which Mr. White pays to Grotius's great treatise, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis.*

Of all works not claiming divine inspiration, that book, by a man proscribed and hated, both for his politics and his religion, has proved the greatest blessing to humanity. More than any other, it has prevented unmerited suffering, misery and sorrow; more than any other, it has promoted the blessings of peace and diminished the horrors of war.

The tribute is just. Mr. White recognizes the obligations of Grotius, as Grotius himself so explicitly recognized them, to the writers who preceded him, such men as Isidore of Seville, Suarez, Ayala and Gentilis. But when all this is acknowledged, he "clearly sees Grotius, while rising among these men, grandly towering above them." He sees in Grotius "the first man who brought the main principles of those earlier thinkers to bear upon modern times, increasing them from his own creative mind, strengthening them from the vast stores of his knowledge, enriching them from his imagination, glorifying them with his genius."

"His great mind," says Mr. White, "brooded over that earlier chaos of opinion, and from his heart and brain, more than from those of any other, came a revelation to the modern world of new and better paths toward mercy and peace. But his agency was more than that. His coming was like the rising of the sun out of the primeval abyss; his work was both creative and illuminative. We may reverently insist that in the domain of international law Grotius said, 'Let there be light!' and there was light."

This is indeed a memorable word; but it is hardly an extravagant one. Instructive is Mr. White's survey of the history of the period of Grotius's great treatise—it was published amid the horrors of the Thirty Years' War—and the times immediately succeeeding. The new gospel was little heeded. "The light shone in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." Yet, says Mr. White at the close of his survey,

we see that the great light streaming from his heart and mind continued to shine; that it developed and fructified human thought; that it warmed into life new and glorious growths of right reason as to international relations; and we recognize the fact that, from his day to ours, the progress of reason in theory and of mercy in practice has been constant on both sides of the Atlantic.

It is a real misfortune that there is no good complete English translation of Grotius's great work on "The Rights of War and Peace," published in a single volume, easily available to all readers. An English translation by William Evats was published in 1682; and in 1738 another translation anonymously, including the valuable notes of Barbeyrac accompanying his French translation. In 1901 there was published a translation by Campbell, with an introduction by David Jayne Hill. The Carnegie Peace Endowment has published a fine fac-simile edition of the original Latin text, and an English translation of this is announced for the present year. The excellent abridged translation by Whewell occupies portions of three volumes, being accompanied by the complete Latin text, and is a work designed for scholars. Moreover, published in 1853, it is now rare, found only in the best libraries. Why will not some good publisher at this time bring out Whewell's translation by itself, aside from the Latin text, in a single volume? It would be a public service. It should be accompanied by Mr. White's essay on Grotius, from his "Seven Great Statesmen." This is a later and completer work than his address at Delft, and is the best essay on Grotius in the English language. It would form the best possible introduction for the volume.

The first thing that impresses us as we read Grotius's great work is its modernness. Here, after the three centuries, we find our own problems stated, and the evils and objections discussed of which today's newspapers are full. Indeed the most modern and impressive things are not those which Grotius draws from his own time, but those which he cites from far antiquity. The world had always been full of people, just as it was when he wrote, who despised all talk of international law. He recalls the saying of Euthemius in Thucydides,

that for a king or a city which has an empire to maintain, nothing is unjust which is useful; and to the same effect is the saying that, for those who have supreme power, the equity is where the strength is; that war is far from having anything to do with rights is not only the opinion of the vulgar, but even learned and prudent men let fall expressions which favor such an opinion.

"It is very usual," he says, "to put *rights* and *arms* in opposition to each other;" and he quotes the line of Ennius, "They have recourse to arms and not to rights," and lines from Horace and other poets to the same effect. Antigonus, he quotes, "laughed at a man who, when he was besieging his enemies' cities, brought to him a dissertation on Justice."

Grotius in these citations takes us back to a time two millenniums ago. If he could have listened forward three centuries, he would have been disheartened and appalled to find that this was still a fashionable dialect and that the spirit which he execrated was rampant in this twentieth century. If we pleaded our peace movements and ideals, he might tell us that he wanted something more than rhetoric—that as for rhetoric, he could bring us some of that on the side of internationalism also from two millenniums ago. For yet more impressive than his array of classical statements of the principles upon which modern nations wage their wars, is the passage in which he shows us how the better minds of pagan Greece and Rome were thrilled by visions of universal justice and the organization of the world:

If no society whatever can be preserved without the recognition of mutual rights, assuredly that society which includes the whole human race, or at any rate the greater part of nations, has need of the recognition of rights, as Cicero saw when he said that some things are so bad that they are not to be done even for the sake of saving our country. Aristotle speaks with strong condemnation of those who, while they will allow no one to hold rule among themselves except him who has the right to do so, yet in their dealings with strangers have no care of rights or the violation of rights. We have quoted Pompey's expression on the other side; yet when a certain Spartan king had said, "Happy that republic which has for its boundaries the spear and the sword," Pompey corrected him and said, "Happy rather that which has justice for its boundary." And to this effect he might have used the authority of another Spartan king, who gave justice the preference over military courage on this ground,—that courage is to be regulated by justice, but if all men were just they would have no need of courage. Courage itself was defined by the Stoics as virtue exercised in defense of justice. The name of Ninos became hateful to posterity in no other way than this,—that he terminated his equity at the boundaries of his own government. Themistius, in an oration to Valens, eloquently urges that kings, such as the rule of wisdom declares them to

be, ought not to care for the single nation only which is committed to them, but for the whole human race. They should be, as he expresses it, not *philo-Macedonian* only, or *philo-Roman*, but *philanthropic*.

How near to that have we got in our practice today? Is even our preaching today better? If these old pagans could open their mouths to us after this fashion in this year of grace, telling us sharply that it is a disgrace for us, after these twenty centuries, to be thinking of ourselves in the first place as Americans or Englishmen or Frenchmen or Germans or Russians, instead of in the first place as men, as citizens of the world,—if they should say this, their words would surprise and startle the common ear. Yet Grotius would say, and Andrew D. White would say, that in the quarter century since 1899 we have made distinct progress. The League of Nations and the World Court mark an immense advance in the realization of the great vision of Grotius and of Kant, and are a hopeful basis for further proceedings.

The social impulse, mutual compact, and the will of God—these are the foundations upon which Grotius builds his argument for universal law and an organized world. The assertion that man is by nature impelled to seek only his own individual advantage he refuses to concede. Among the properties peculiar to men is a desire for society, for a life spent in common with fellow-men, "and not merely spent somehow, but spent tranquilly and in a manner corresponding to the character of his intellect." Man is by nature a social being, not to be understood without the presupposition of society, impelled by the very principles of his nature to social relations and development, and this in ever higher degree and wider spheres. This social tendency is the source of natural law. It "may be rightly ascribed to God, because it was by His will that such principles came to exist in us."

Mutual society is required for the supply of our wants and for our safety. As individuals we are weak and needy; and association or subjection by mutual compact becomes necessary for the common defense and common good. Those who have joined any community

either expressly promised, or from the nature of the case must have been understood to promise tacitly, that they would conform to that which either the majority of the community or those to whom the power was assigned should determine.

As with individuals in communities, so with communities in the great aggregate system of communities.

As a citizen who violates the civil law for the sake of present utility destroys that institution in which the perpetual utility of himself and his posterity is bound up, so a people which violates the laws of nature and of nations beats down the bulwarks of its own tranquillity for future time.

There is no state so strong that it may not at some time need the aid of others. Alliances can have no force if rights are confined within the boundary of the individual state alone. Everything loses its certainty if we give up the belief in rights; and it is imperative that rights should be recognized in that society which includes the whole human race.

Such is the argument. It is not a plan for the federation of the world. Hugo Grotius was not Immanuel Kant. He did not clearly foresee a time when wars would cease. He quotes Demosthenes as saying that war was "a mode of dealing with those who could not be kept in order by judicial proceedings." Kant saw that truth; he saw that war would cease when a rational substitute for war was provided, and he addressed his speculation to that provision. Judicial proceeding was the method in the nation because the nation was organized. The nation was the largest thing yet organized; Kant would organize the world, creating a sovereignty above every national sovereignty. Grotius, not looking so far ahead as that, still conceding recourse to arms in certain cases legitimate because there was no other recourse, would try to keep nations from going into any war save such as the old Romans called "a pure and pious war," with the consciousness of justice on their side; and, war being undertaken, he would have it conducted "religiously," according to those laws of war which it was one of the great purposes of his book to state. The scope of his book can best be shown in brief by the outline of the contents which he himself gives in the introduction.

In the First Book (after a preface concerning the origin of rights and laws) we have examined the question whether any war be just. Next, in order to distinguish between public and private war, we have to explain the nature of sovereignty,—what peoples, what kings, have it entire, what partial, who with a right of alienation, who otherwise; and afterward we have to speak of the duty of subjects to superiors.

The Second Book, undertaking to expound all the causes from which war may arise, examines what things are common, what constitutes property, what is the right of persons over persons, what obligation arises from ownership, what is the rule of royal succession, what right is obtained by pact or contract, what is the force and interpretation of treaties, of oaths private and public, what is due for damage done, what is the sacredness of ambassadors, the right of burying the dead, and the nature of punishments.

The Third Book has for its subject, in the first place, what is lawful in war; and when it has drawn a distinction between that which is done with impunity, or may even, in dealing with foreigners, be defended as consistent with rights, and that which is really free from fault, it then descends to the kinds of peace and the conventions in war.

"The reader will do me injustice," writes Grotius in his introduction, "if he judges me to have written with a regard to any controversies of our own time, either such as already exist or such as can be foreseen as likely to arise. I profess, in all sincerity, that, as mathematicians consider their figures as abstract from body, so did I, in treating of rights, abstract my mind from every particular fact."

This was undoubtedly true; and it is to be remembered that the idea of his great work had been in the mind of Grotius from his very youth. Yet he was urged on to his work the more imperatively, as he tells us in recounting the "many and grave causes" why he should write, by the deplorable condition of Europe in his own time. This weighed upon his mind in his exile. The plans of his youth came back to him, deepened by a life of stern experience; and his exile was redeemed and glorified by his great pioneering effort to extend the realm of law over the whole warring world.

Having practiced jurisprudence in public situations in my country, with the best integrity I could give, I would now, as what remains to me, unworthily ejected from that country, graced by so many of my labors, promote the same interest, jurisprudence, by the exertion of my private diligence.

Slowly as the thought of Grotius has mastered the world, we cannot forget the mighty influence of his great work, in the twenty years between its publication and his death in 1645, upon the mind of Gustavus Adolphus in his campaigns, upon the mind of Richelieu as shown in his mercy toward Rochelle, and upon the Peace of Westphalia.

One of the most impressive and most prophetic of Horace Bushnell's addresses was that upon "The Growth of Law;" and its most significant pages are those in which the writer looks forward to the triumph of the international spirit and sees the end of wars in a rational and organized world. In these pages occurs a

memorable tribute to Grotius, which is one of the most eloquent passages in all of Bushnell's writings.

I know of nothing which better marks the high moral tone of modern history than that the sublime code of international law should have come into form and established its authority over the civilized world within so short a time; for it is now scarcely more than two hundred years since it took its being. In the most polished and splendid age of Greece and Grecian philosophy, piracy was a lawful and even honorable occupation. Man upon the waters and the shark in them had a common right to feed on what they could subdue. Nations were considered as natural enemies; and for one people to plunder another by force of arms and to lay their country waste was no moral wrong, any more than for the tiger to devour the lamb. In war no terms of humanity were binding, and the passions of the parties were mitigated by no constraints of law. Captives were butchered or sold into slavery at pleasure. In time of peace it was not without great hazard that the citizen of one country could venture into another for purposes of travel or business.

Go now with me to a little French town near Paris, and there you shall see in his quiet retreat a silent, thoughtful man, bending his ample shoulders and more ample countenance over his table, and recording with a visible earnestness something that deeply concerns the world. This man has no office or authority to make him a law-giver other than what belongs to the gifts of his own person,—a brilliant mind enriched by the amplest stores of learning and nerved by the highest principles of moral justice and Christian piety. He is, in fact, a fugitive and exile from his country, separated from all power but the simple power of truth and reason. But he dares, you will see, to write *De Jure Belli ac Pacis.* This is the man who was smuggled out of prison and out of his country, by his wife, to give law to all the nations of mankind in all future ages. On the sea and on the land, on all seas and on all lands, he shall bear sway. In the silence of his study he stretches forth his sceptre of law over all potentates and peoples, defines their rights, arranges their intercourse, gives them terms of war and terms of peace, which they may not disregard. In the days of battle, too, when kings and kingdoms are thundering in the shock of arms, this same Hugo Grotius shall be there in all the turmoil of passion and the smoke of ruin, as a presiding throne of law commanding above the commanders, and when the die is cast prescribing to the victor terms of mercy and justice, which not even his hatred of the foe nor the exultation of the hour may dare to transcend.

I have expressed regret that there is no translation of Grotius's "Rights of War and Peace" published in cheap and popular form. It is also to be regretted that there is no adequate English book about Grotius. The French life, by M. de Burigny, which appeared in 1752, was translated and published in England two years later; but this is now practically an unknown book. A biography by Charles Butler of London was published in 1826; but its presence in some of our libraries does not forbid our repeating that we have yet no adequate life of Grotius. Here is a splendid beckoning for some American historian and student of international law. A good brief biography is sure to be included in the series of lives of the great men of Holland now appearing under the editorship of Mr. Bok; and for that we shall be grateful. But we need something more than that. We need a comprehensive survey of Grotius's life and time of the most thorough and scientific character. The man pre-eminently fitted for that service is Dr. Charles H. Levermore, the recent winner of the Bok peace prize, formerly president of Adelphi College and secretary of the New York Peace Society, with his rare mastery of the history of the seventeenth century, his large acquaintance with both the theological and political literature of the period, and his deep devotion to the cause of peace and international order. I have said that the best essay on Grotius in our language is that by Andrew D. White in his "Seven Great Statesmen." There are important discussions by Hallam and others; and none of us can forget the learned and able article in the "Encyclopedia Britannica" by Mark Pattison.

Into the details of Grotius's life the purpose of the present paper does not command us to enter. The simple outlines are these: He was born at Delft in Holland in 1553, the year before the assassination there of William the Silent, and died in 1645. He was one of the greatest scholars of his time, or indeed of any time, and this in almost every field of the learning of his age. At the age of fifteen he was engaged in editing classical texts; and he wrote three dramas in Latin. Taking the degree of doctor of laws at Leyden, he entered upon practice as an advocate, and soon became advocate-general of the fisc for the provinces of Holland and Zeeland. He wrote largely upon theological subjects. In 1593 the United Provinces appointed him the official historian of their struggle with Spain. In 1613 he was one of a deputation to the English court to adjust certain differences between the two young maritime powers. This was in the period when our Pilgrim Fathers were living in Holland. He was soon plunged into theological controversies in Holland; and he was condemned to imprisonment at the same time that Barnevelt was condemned to death. Escaping from prison through his wife's ingenuity, he took refuge in France; and there, in exile and poverty, he composed his great work, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis,* the principles and plan of which had been conceived and largely developed as early as 1604. The work was published in 1625. After fruitless attempts to re-establish himself in Holland, Grotius accepted service under the crown of Sweden as ambassador to the court of France. Grotius died at Rostock in 1645, on a return journey from Stockholm.

In wishing for a different edition of Whewell's translation of Grotius, the warmest thanks are due to Whewell for his work. His mere name is the guarantee of the critical character of the translation. I have said that it is an abridged translation. There was good reason why it should be that. One of our journals has recently been lamenting the decline of literary allusion in modern writing. Its comparison was with a century and half a century ago. A journal of either of those periods, looking back to Grotius, might have made the same lament. The degree of the literary allusion with Grotius is something overwhelming. He can hardly make a statement without hunting up some testimony by the Greek and Roman philosophers, historians, poets, and orators, the Bible writers, the Church fathers, and the schoolmen, along the same lines, and massing it for us by way of confirmation. His book is thus a rich anthology; but the method is one which makes the movement of the argument very slow, and the ordinary reader, who is concerned with the book's central purpose, often impatient. Whewell had sympathy with this modern reader; and in his translation the wealth of literary allusion and reinforcement is reduced to the lowest terms consistent with clearness and force.

Whewell, in his valuable preface, in which the moral and political philosophy of Grotius is ably discussed, directs special attention to this prophetic word of the great thinker:

It will be useful, and indeed it is almost necessary, that certain congresses of Christian powers should be held in which controversies which arise among some of them may be decided by others who are not interested, and in which measures may be taken to compel the parties to accept peace on equitable terms.

Mr. White said justly in his address at Delft:

The germ of arbitration was planted in modern thought when Grotius, in the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis,* urging arbitration and

mediation as preventing war, wrote these solemn words: "Especially are Christian kings and states bound to try this way of 'avoiding war'."

Mr. White's noble address closed with a high command and prophecy, which he placed in the mouth of Grotius himself.

"From the tomb of Grotius," he said, "I seem to hear a voice which says to us as the delegates of the nations: 'Go on with your mighty work; avoid, as you would avoid the germs of pestilence, those exhalations of international hatred which take shape in monstrous fallacies and morbid fictions regarding alleged antagonistic interests. Guard well the treasure of civilization with which each of you is entrusted; but bear in mind that you hold a mandate from humanity. Pseudo-philosophers will prophesy malignantly against you; pessimists will laugh you to scorn; cynics will sneer at you; zealots will abuse you for what you have *not* done; sublimely unpractical thinkers will revile you for what you *have* done. Heed them not; go on with the work of strengthening peace and humanizing war; give greater scope and strength to provisions which will make war less cruel; and above all give to the world at least a beginning of an effective practicable scheme of arbitration.' These are the words which an American seems to hear issuing from this shrine today; and I seem also to hear from it a prophecy. I seem to hear Grotius saying to us: 'Fear neither opposition nor detraction. As my own book, which grew out of the Eighty Years' War and the Thirty Years' War, contained the germ from which your great Conference has grown, so your work, which is demanded by a world bent almost to breaking under the weight of ever-increasing armaments, shall be a germ from which future Conferences shall evolve plans ever fuller, better and nobler."

Geneva is fulfilling the prophecy.

It was in 1625 that Grotius published his "Rights of War and Peace." The century was just drawing to its close when William Penn published his famous "Plan for the Peace of Europe." Another century passed on; and in 1795 came Immanuel Kant's sublime tractate on "Eternal Peace." Another century passed on; Tennyson had sung of the parliament of man, and Edward Everett Hale had preached a permanent international tribunal; and in 1899 we saw for the first time in human history the official representatives of the nations gathered at the Hague to take counsel together for universal law and order. It was fitting that they should pilgrimage together to the tomb of Grotius, there to renew and deepen their consecration to the great service to which they were called. America should count it a holy honor that the voice which spoke for the delegates of the nations on that solemn occasion was an American voice; and that it was an American president, the successor of Washington and Jefferson, the great peace statesman of their time, who was the real founder of the League of Nations, which put the principles of Grotius and Kant into practical operation. Looking backard to Grotius and looking forward to the future, we of this new world republic should highly resolve on this eloquent anniversary more bravely to do our part, as becomes the sons of the fathers who sailed from Delft haven, to bring in the universal reign of reason and to organize the world.

Boston, Mass. EDWIN D. MEAD.

The Story of My Mind

XXI

Certain personal experiences had a very considerable influence in leading me to radically new conceptions with regard to the nature and methods of society. When I left the parish in Dedham, after a residence there of six and one-half years, I removed to the centre of the town, where I resided for four years, and supplied the church in Sharon, eight miles distant towards Providence. Then I removed, in the autumn of 1890, to the parish in the eastern section of the town of Lexington. In a village of about 500 population there was only one church, which had come into existence under the influence of the anti-slavery ideas and the reform activities of the '30's of the last century. The leaders were largely reformatory in their attitude of mind, had little regard for church forms and theological beliefs, and were greatly influenced by the idealistic and individualistic ideas of that period. For a period of two and one-half years Emerson preached to the village congregation, the last of his experiences of that kind. It was reported that one of the congregation said, when asked why a certain clergyman was not invited to settle with the parish, "We are a very simple people and can understand no one but Mr. Emerson." What was actually said was of a very different character and meaning, but the implication was that it was convenient for the parish to have the services of Emerson because it could not afford financially to have a minister entirely devoted to its interests. In 1839 Charles Follen became the minister of the parish, and he continued with it until he was lost at the burning of the steamer, "Lexington," on Long Island Sound, in 1840. Follen had been exiled from Germany on account of his radical political theories, became an intimate friend of Dr. Channing, was made a professor in Harvard College, which position he was compelled to leave owing to his anti-slavery advocacy. He had been settled over a church in New York, had been a private tutor, and finally became the minister in Lexington with the expectation of remaining there for life, and devoting himself to his scientific and philosophical studies. Other liberal and reformatory men occupied the pulpit of the little church built under the auspices of Follen. The population of the village had greatly changed with the passing of the years, and the old reformatory spirit remained only as a tradition, in 1890.

It seemed to me that this church offered an opportunity for carrying out some of my notions as to what a religious society might become, which gathered around the dominating idea that it might be a centre for the educational, social and ethical life of the community. I did not regard the church as a gathering-place for a sect, as a means of social and intellectual diversion on Sundays, and of securing social respectability by conformity to the habit of religious observance. Accordingly, in my preaching I ignored theological terms and theories, and centered my presentation of religious truth on the great motives and ideals of universal religion. I did not think it necessary to criticise any of the Christian theories or forms from which I differed, but made every effort to make my work constructive along the established religious and moral lines. In the village were persons of every form of belief and perhaps of no-belief. I antagonised no one, but sought to build up a centre for the influence of individuals and the shaping of the lives of the young, and that should be helpful to all those active amidst the tasks of life. In this effort I largely succeeded for a time, and drew together a considerable congregation of young and old. My chief aim, perhaps, was the reaching and influenc-

ing of the children and youth. I gave them much of my consideration and time. I was greatly pleased, as well as amused, when one of the young men said: "We have never had any other minister like Mr. Cooke. He really wishes us to take an interest in the church and to lead good lives, and is disturbed and worried if we do not."

I had for many years regarded the church as a means of advancing the higher education of the community, of giving the people higher ethical and social ideals, and as a means of lifting up the whole tone of life in the community. Working along the lines of this ideal I brought into our village church persons from many walks in life, in order that I might reach a larger number and all the varied ideas and interests represented in our community. One winter I had representatives of as many denominations as possible give interpretation to their peculiar doctrines and forms of the religious life. When the panic of 1893 came on I asked several business men to expound the causes and results to one of our class-groups. I invited Sylvester Baxter, an advocate of Nationalism, to expound the theories of the followers of Edward Bellamy. At another time I had the younger William Lloyd Garrison interpret the single tax theories of Henry George.

I brought the children of our village together for the reading of good books, and one winter gave attention to the works of Mrs. Stowe. The younger people I gathered into a large class for the study of the Bible, which met as a part of the Sunday-school. On a week-day evening I led them in the study of American history. The older villagers who cared to do so met for the study of Shakespeare and for inquiries into the political development of our country, together with the study of the various theories in regard to social progress. This work I carried on for three or four years with a considerable degree of success. Then there came complaints that I was working the people too severely and was trying to do too much. There were also individual antagonisms and withdrawals.

What I was attempting to accomplish was what came at this period to be known as the work of the Institutional Church.* My aim was the awakening of the dormant social interests of the people, and the giving them a desire to co-operate for the growth of the community in social fellowship and loyalty. I did and said everything I could to promote that interest. One of the speakers I secured to this end was the Rev. A. Dickinson, minister of the Berkeley Temple in Boston, who had developed one of the earliest and most representative of the institutional churches. When I told him of the work I was doing he said it was directly along the line of his theory and methods. He invited me to attend in New York a meeting of such churches for conference, which I did, and a second session in Boston. I wrote and published a statement of what such a church aimed to accomplish, and the methods it must follow, which Dickinson pronounced the best which had been produced. For a time this method of reaching the people in a wiser and more all-round manner throve; but it was much criticised, and gradually ceased to attract attention.

The great difficulty under which I labored in Lexington was the absence of the active interest and support of the more intelligent and socially influential members of my congregation. Say what I might, they would not retreat from their old lazy habits of church attendance, and they were unable to grasp my conception that the church might become a real force for moral and social uplift in the community. Perhaps I was incompetent to secure their devotion by personal means, and I certainly failed to arouse them to the larger and more important interests which I thought might be those of a church placed in a community where it had no immediate antagonism from other sects. In this I failed, and those upon whom I depended for support and encouragement were of the opinion that the uneducated and disorderly element in the village was at fault. My own opinion was quite the contrary, for my work was crippled and brought to nothing by the failure of the better class to stand by me loyally. I saw in this the results of the old individualist and "don't-care" spirit, which in the earlier years of the Church had been fostered as a part of the larger thought of the time.

The last three years of my work in Lexington were full of discouragement and despair, even to heart-break. In my own thought I did not hesitate to attribute this failure to its real source, the disloyalty of those upon whom I had depended for appreciation of my work and the upholding of my efforts. I might have reasoned that this disloyalty was the result of a defect in the religion presented, which was to some extent the conclusion at which I arrived. But my real explanation was that the object of the church had been misconceived, that it was regarded as merely an individual privilege, to be taken or left alone as one might please, and that at bottom the difficulty was in the individualistic conception of the church, the state, and society alike. The social conception of life had come to me, but I could not break over the old traditional notions which made it mean nothing to the men and women I was trying to influence.

As soon as circumstances made it possible for me to do so I presented my resignation, after a residence in Lexington of nearly seven years. On the last Sunday in June, 1897, I gave my concluding sermon. As it chanced that I had been ordained twenty-five years previously, I gave a review of my experiences as a minister of religion. I said that I had been drawn to the church by the opportunity I thought it presented for the advancement of reform and the new intellectual conceptions of life and society. I plainly expressed my loss of faith in many of the ideas and ideals of my youth, but more especially in those of individual freedom and liberty of opinion.

"With the advancement of years," I said, "I have been compelled to modify my youthful faith in individualism and in the value of individual freedom. It is not simply a question of religious organization which has compelled a change of opinion, but not less the result of watching the social and political tendencies which are working themselves out in our country. When I see to what an extent the individualistic spirit makes men unmindful of their political duties, destroys in them any true patriotism, and makes them care for nothing but their personal success, I discover what of evil it is capable of accomplishing when it is permitted to go on its way unchecked. I see in it that spirit of greed which has taken possession of men in our country, and which makes the business man maintain that he has a right to the use of any methods which will give him personal advantage. I see it in the dominion of evil men in party life, and in the fact that in politics it leads a great number of men to see no other ends than individual success. One cannot watch closely the political tendencies in our republic today without reaching the sad conviction that political corruption is widespread, and that it has its roots in the individualistic spirit, in the failure to see that our best life can come only from the general good."

As I read again this sermon, as it was printed in the *Christian Register* for July 8, 1897, I realize how little progress I had made towards a correct understanding

* Even more was this an anticipation of the Community Church.—J. H. H.

of the conditions I described as best I could. So far as I had gone, however, I owed my change in opinions to the studies to which I have referred, and not less to my experiences in Lexington as a minister. If my words were too much those of despair and doubt, they were, I think, legitimate results of the practical failure of the work I had been doing, owing to the inability of those with whom I worked to grasp and act upon a broader conception of society and its interests. This attitude of failure, and yet of hope and of anticipation, came out in some other paragraphs of my sermon, especially in those in which I expressed my growing faith in socialism, as follows:

Twenty-five years ago, and for many years thereafter, I was strongly committed to the principles of individualism as advocated by Emerson, and those who were in sympathy with him. Very slowly, and with many a heart-wrench, have I been led to modify that early conviction. I have not yet abandoned it, and am not likely to do so; but of recent years I have seen that it must be modified by another principle; that which takes the name of socialism. I have been reluctant to commit myself to socialism, because the name implies, as it has been used, some special theory of social reconstruction. I have found myself ready to go with the socialists all the way until they begin to divulge their special methods for making society over into what it ought to be; and then I have found that I am not ready for any of their devices. They are too materialistic and specific, fail to recognize the organic law of development, and anticipate results which can never be secured by the methods proposed. The setting-up of a new government will not get men out of their selfishness. The application of a new economic method will not transform men to such a degree as to emancipate them from their evil thoughts. To this extent I remain an individualist—that I am convinced the real reform the world needs must lay hold of the sources of personal conviction. At the same time it must recognize personal tastes as based on individual heredity.

My observation of the great evils of the individualistic spirit, especially as I have come in contact with them as a minister, has made me a socialist. This conclusion has been confirmed by the new sciences of psychology and sociology, which have made it clear how organic are the ties which bind individual men to each other. The weakness of our country today is that which comes from its false individualism—from the individualism which teaches men to seek their own good without regard to the interests of others. The individualistic spirit has been so dominant in the life of our nation, so roots itself in those things which have made us what we are as a people, that it is difficult to recognize its limitations, and that it is a source of weakness as well as strength. All the more difficult is it to escape from what is weak in it, because so large a degree of our strength has grown out of it, and is yet to be found there. Yet we must be blind to the greater political influences of our time if we fail to see that liberty must be checked by national loyalty, that liberty must have its basis in obedience to the moral law.

We have realized the grand ideal of democracy, the freedom of the individual, and his right to live in harmony with his own personal convictions. Now we need to realize the grander ideal of socialism—that we may use our personal freedom in the spirit of a genuine liberty, of our own free will and choice, for unifying our life with that of others, for making the common good the supreme law of our individual existence. If we could but realize the force of this truth, we would save our country from all the evils which threaten it. In that one principle is the only hope of the future; in other words, that we shall find our own highest good in securing the highest good of all other men. For us there is no permanent good to be had which comes to us simply as individuals. All our good is common to mankind, and must be shared with all who are capable of recognizing it. The common life is the one true life which men can live; and, in seeking an exclusive good, we are turning it into a source of evil.

If I do not commit myself to socialism without hesitation and qualification, it is only because that which today bears the name seeks to reconstruct society too exclusively by material and economic methods. At the basis of every genuine and permanent social life which men have lived has been a spiritual conviction. We are not likely to escape that law now or to find that national prosperity is the one end of human existence. We need today in our national life a great inspiring purpose, some strong uniting bond, something which will give the strength of all to each one. Such a bond and purpose will not grow out of our common economic needs; they must grow out of our spiritual ideals, and from faith in those forces which are eternal because spiritual in their nature.

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

(To Be Continued)

THE STUDY TABLE

A New Anthology

By all lovers of poetry the name of Burton Egbert Stevenson is spoken with admiration and gratitude. His "Home Book of Verse" has long since taken its place as the richest and ripest of all general anthologies, and is held in every true library as a priceless treasure trove. Now this indefatigable compiler continues his work by publishing "an Extension of the 'Home Book of Verse,' being a Selection from American and English Poetry of the Twentieth Century." This is a handsome volume,* uniform in size and style with its glorious predecessor, containing more than eleven hundred pages of the work of some four hundred and fifty odd poets. Ah, what reading on many a night for many a year to come!

The value and delight of an anthology of poetry, to our way of thinking, lies not in its selection of writings from the great masters of the art, who should be read not in selections at all but in the great mass of their supreme productions. No anthology, even the finest, is any substitute for the "complete works" of the great poets of all time! Rather is the value of an anthology to be found in the gathering up of fugitive pieces, the one or two good or even beautiful poems of many undistinguished writers, which are so easily swept away into oblivion but deserve to be remembered. After the golden sheaves have been harvested, there are the gleanings which should not be lost!

This "Book of Modern Verse" is an admirable illustration of our thesis. The selections from the great poets of our day are, as they have to be, utterly inadequate. The four poems of Edna St. Vincent Millay give as little indication of the sweep and power of her authentic genius as the three charming selections from Robert Bridges give of his. Robert Frost is somewhat better represented, as are Walter de la Mare and Gilbert K. Chesterton, but of Thomas Hardy we have only a suggestion, and of John Masefield almost less. We imagine that the editor simply abandoned at the start any idea of giving such masters as these the place in his anthology that they deserve. There would have been little space left for others, less wonderful, but still lovely singers! And was it utter despair that led him to omit entirely such writers as Rudyard Kipling, William Watson, Alfred Noyes, and Rupert Brooke?

In any case, it is the lesser poets, not easily accessible elsewhere, which concern us here. And what an accumulation of precious material Mr. Stevenson has brought us! One stands amazed, aghast, at the labors which have gone into the compilation of this volume—

* "The Home Book of Modern Verse," compiled and arranged by Burton Egbert Stevenson, published by Henry Holt & Co., New York.

at the area covered, the fields explored, the books, magazines, pamphlets, newspapers, and private leaflets read and appraised. The pages of acknowledgment are no less than ten in number, of fine print, include numberless volumes, innumerable magazines and journals, and even so are limited to "copyright" material. This man has searched everywhere; and if there is a good poem of the last quarter of a century which he has not found, it is because it was never published, or else was omitted for sheer lack of space. Mr. Stevenson tells us that "three or four times as much material was gathered as could be used," so that the poems included are survivors of "repeated readings and repeated winnowings," and thus the best. Even so, we miss some favorites—Joyce Kilmer's "Trees," Winifred Lett's "Oxford," Vachel Lindsay's "Abraham Lincoln Walks At Midnight," Edgar Lee Master's "Silence." But Mr. Stevenson edited this book, and it is right that his judgment should prevail, not ours!

Lovers of the first "Home Book" will be glad to see in this volume the familiar classifications by subject. The distribution here has been done as successfully as the original selection. All in all, we stand once more immeasurably in Mr. Stevenson's debt. J. H. H.

CORRESPONDENCE

AN APPEAL FROM RUSSIA

Dear Mr. Editor:

It occurs to me that someone of your group would probably be interested in providing some books which are very much desired by earnest individuals in this country. Vladimir Tchertkoff, who was during the later life of Leo Tolstoy his most intimate friend and after his death became the leader of the Tolstoy group, is very desirous of obtaining books on the psychology, sociology, and philosophy of religion. In the general psychology he has found Dewey's "How We Think" and Miller's "Psychology of Thinking" very useful but he would also very much like to have

A. C. McGiffert, "The Rise of Modern Religious Ideas"
Rufus Jones, "The Quakers in the American Colonies"
Rufus Jones, "The Inner Life"
Rufus Jones, "The World Within"

Your own books he would appreciate deeply, as also UNITY.

I might add that Mr. Tchertkoff is living in most humble circumstances but is devoting himself tirelessly to the great work begun by Tolstoy and to the preparation of his unpublished works. He richly deserves help and encouragement.

Thanking you in advance for whatever favor you can extend this worthy group, I remain,

ALVIN J. MILLER,
c/o American Mennonite Relief,
Povarskaya, Borisoglebsky per. 15, Moscow, Russia.

[We hope that some of our readers may be glad to answer this appeal on behalf of this distinguished Tolstoyan. Books and papers should be addressed to Mr. Miller as above.—J. H. H.]

OUR REPRESENTATIVE WRITES FROM HUNGARY

Dear UNITY:

Life is hard and difficult here to-day in spite of League of Nations reports about overbalancing budgets. Vienna is truly sad, and here we seem to follow in its steps. Prices keep terribly high even for agricultural products, and Hungary is an agricultural land. Taxes and duties are fearfully high. Unemployment increases. I try and try, and ask and ask, for work for a few young men I am interested in, but it is impossible to find any. Always the answer is—"We are reducing our staff." As you know, there is no unemployment insurance or government grant, and this long period of bad trade tells on employer and employee. Sometimes I think this after-war period worse than the actual war. During a war nations retain at least some hope, but at present in Austria and Hungary there is hopelessness and apathy.

The State itself is rich owing to taxation, but it is rich at the expense of the overburdened taxpayer. What a crime the Versailles Peace Treaty is! It must be brought again some day to the court of international justice.

Here is unrest; in Bulgaria is unrest. Though it may be quiet at present under an iron militarism; in Roumania minorities are distressed over the question of minority rights in matters educational; in Czecho-Slovakia The German minority is unsatisfied. The same story seems to reach us from all these various parts. Dissatisfied nations and minorities are kept quiet only by military power, but underneath all this so-called quiet and peace one feels the noiseless heating of a military spirit which may lead to a future war. It is true some of the central European nations have no armaments at present, but don't let us be blind and confuse this with a non-military spirit. The spirit of militarism is here in central Europe, and only justice and right, brotherhood and goodwill can divert a catastrophe. I am a pacifist, out and out, as you know, and I long for a healing of these sores of war left in the conquered lands and amongst minorities; but I feel sure war must come some day unless the present generation begins to seek the Right and the Truth. I'm going to live in no fool's paradise again! My work shall be to work for peace by better international understanding, by open diplomacy, by outlawry of war, but first a just settlement of European questions which are the cause of unrest, hatred and revenge.

It is a great strength to feel that one can realize UNITY and its readers are working for this same great end. . . . The weekly copies of UNITY I rejoice to have, and I always pass them on to certain friends to read.

Budapest, Hungary. F. K. HANKINSON.

ARMY CHAPLAINS

Dear UNITY:

"Army Chaplain—a man who thinks that, if the Nazarene were living today, he would wear a military uniform, salute the flag, and be addressed as Major Jesus Christ, of the 4th Regiment, Field Artillery." (UNITY, June 22nd.)

I wonder if you would be willing to print a reply to the above sarcastic reference! As one man that has been glad to serve as Chaplain in the late war, I consider this "smart aleck" fling, that will cause a laugh and a sneer from readers, unworthy of your best.

So far as we know Jesus, you and I do not know him in a sweepingly asserting way you imply, he was a pacifist: although his pacifism may have been on account of the impossibility of his race escaping the domination of Rome. But what of that,—does every army chaplain think what you write? I know one who does not, that is myself. Jesus taught the washing of feet, in as direct a way as pacifism. Do you practice feet washing in the Church "Community"?

Jesus taught against the laying up of treasure on earth. Does the editor take a salary and save it? Or does he use money invested in competing corporations?

Jesus taught a second coming. Does the editor teach it?

Jesus implied celibacy was the highest life. Does the editor?

Jesus taught indiscriminate charity. Does the editor organize charity on a rational basis, or does he give to every one that asks of him?

Jesus was an orthodox Jew, and considered salvation from and of the Jews. Is the editor?

I have been too many times with dying American boys who needed the help of a friend, to see the sense of the pharasaical righteous spitting on the Chaplain. I have gone among the sick and dying of contagious disease, where the sign "no admittance" meant no admittance. The nurses, and the doctors, and the "chaplains" were glad to be there to help. I have made appeals to hundreds of boys, amid temptations to live the life their mothers would approve of; and they did. I have been chaplain to boys behind barb wires; I have been chaplain to men who were venereal, and who were being cured by Uncle Sam; for the war in the American army did much to stamp out venereal diseases in this country. This statement is so far from what good idealistic pacifists want to believe that it will be received with laughter.

Somehow I cannot but believe that if Jesus, what we know of him, were living today in the time of war, he would be *in the war*. At least he would understand the heart of a soldier, which the pacifist movement so far has failed to do. For the soldier has his ideas, and ideals, and the story told of him, that he is inhuman, and desires murder, is a base fabrication. And you should not be guilty of intensifying the breach between super-

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE SINO-FOREIGN FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION

The chief object in establishing the International Institute of China over thirty years ago was by every form of work **to help and benefit China and the Chinese people.** The interests of China rather than the interests of other countries have been put first. It was probably this simple declaration of "faith and practice" more than anything else which caused the Princes and Ministers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1897 to commend under official seal of that body the Institute's Regulations. This is still the highest aim controlling the plans, management and activities of this Institute; this is the aim in all those movements which favor no one party or group, but tend to benefit the whole of China and especially the people of China.

As included in the original Regulations, and kept always in mind through the changing scenes of the last thirty years, there have been two other aims, which indicate how China is to be helped. The one way is by promoting **harmony between Chinese and other nationalities,** and the other **between Christians and adherents of other religions.** The latter idea has been especially emphasized in conference for harmony among all the world's great religions. Additional members of this special branch of the Institute's work, as well as of the Institute as a whole, will be welcomed.

Just at present, owing to the increased anti-Christian and anti-foreign agitation on the part of some Chinese, and the tendency of some foreigners to criticise and blame the Chinese too severely or to benefit themselves by China's loss, it has seemed wise that the International Institute should start a crusade in the opposite direction, for friendship, harmony, peace and goodwill, between Chinese on the one side and foreigners on the other.

This, then, is what we call **the Sino-Foreign Friendship Society of the International Institute.** The name in Chinese is more aptly expressed, but the meaning is clear, whatever the language.

Not only is the idea clear, but the execution of the idea is important and urgent. Wherever the forces of evil are arrayed, the forces of righteousness should gather together in larger numbers with greater energy. A crusade for war should be countered by a crusade for peace, a campaign of hatred and revenge should be mated by a campaign of love and forgiveness; and agitation for enmity to others should be met by schemes promoting friendship.

This is the reason why the Institute lays special stress at this time on the cultivation of friendship between the peoples of China and of other countries. The Association to be formed should mean more than an Anglo-Chinese or a Sino-Japanese Friendship Society, it means fostering the cosmopolitan spirit, the "international mind," as related to the well-being of China.

Moreover, it is not so much friendship between China and some other country as a government or state to which attention is first to be directed, but friendship between the **peoples** or between individuals of China and other countries. By winning other individuals to the task of cultivating friendship with others—a task in China which means friendship between the East and the West—the political policies of governments will naturally be shaped in friendly accord to prevent international strife. Diplomacy would thus mean the spirit of conciliation, not the spirit of aggression.

Those who are interested in the idea that is here emphasized will do well to bear in mind that **The International Institute of China** is the most suitable organization for initiating such a movement for promoting friendship. From the beginning to the present the Institute has been a **co-operative** organization of Occidentals and Orientals. In all the committees which have been formed, in the contributions solicited, in the administration of affairs and in the financial control persons from China and from foreign countries, those who are Christians and those who adhere to other religious Faiths, have been associated together. The aim all along has been to bring together in one body kindred spirits of **every nation** and **every religion**—international and inter-religious—all working and planning the welfare of China.

The particular methods for cultivating friendship of the kind indicated will be determined by those who join the movement. In general but as a very essential principle already found necessary in the Conferences of All Religions, in any meetings to be held or discussions to take place, under the auspices of this Association, there will be no attack or ridicule of others, but a recognition by those of one country of **that which is good in the people of another country.** Plainly, the press and forum are ways to be adopted at once for carrying on the propaganda of peace and friendship. Each week **The International Journal** will carry articles on some aspect of the theme.

In short, Chinese who are ready to adopt a friendly attitude to foreigners, and foreigners who are ready to adopt a friendly attitude to Chinese—all who are ready to cultivate friendship—are invited to enroll their names and to give their influence to this new endeavor to preserve peace in the Far East.

—*Gilbert Reid.*

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cilious parlor patriots, and the man of the street, who in his own way, tries to be true to what he believes is right. Where do you get with this sarcastic, cheap, misrepresentation of your fellow men?

Keokuk, Iowa. CARLYLE SUMMERBELL.

[We do not see why our friend, Mr. Summerbell, should express such resentment in the above letter which we gladly print, nor indeed why he should have written the letter at all. He is apparently in entire agreement with our statement that an "army chaplain is a man who thinks that, if the Nazarene were living today, he would wear a military uniform, etc." Mr. Summerbell is himself an army chaplain, and he says in his letter that he believes just this thing ("I cannot but believe that if Jesus . . . were living today in the time of war, he would be in the war"). Mr. Summerbell has demonstrated, in other words, that our paragraph was not a "sarcastic, cheap, misrepresentation of (our) fellowmen" at all, but a perfectly just and scientifically accurate statement of fact. Unless our psychology is all wrong, we feel justified in assuming that Mr. Summerbell has what every army chaplain ought to have—a bad conscience! We are glad that this is so, for Mr. Summerbell is a valued friend and colleague.—J. H. H.]

LA FOLLETTE

Dear UNITY:

Your La Follette editorial was splendid. I had enjoyed La Follette's personal friendship since about 1910 and greatly admired his sincerity and courage. His conception of progress did not quite accord with mine, but I generally waived the difference when there was a chance to do his cause any good.

The general opinion of his death is that of a man overcome by disappointment, but I cannot think that his recent defeat was wholly bitter. He closed the campaign in Cleveland with a mass meeting which exceeded in size and emphasis any personal tribute I have ever seen to any man. Our auditorium, the largest in the world, was packed with 13,000 people, most of whom paid to get in. There were 10,000 more outside the building. Peter Witt's introduction was a masterpiece. LaFollette's own words had a ring of unswerving faith which kept the audience in a continual readiness to applaud explosively.

He knew, of course, what the verdict would be nationally, and I have always thought that the bitterness was much softened by this final ovation. To show that it was not mere noise, Cleveland voted for La Follette by 8,000 plurality. The bi-partisan election board had bitterly resisted efforts to get La Follette watchers into the booths while the count was made, advertising an intent to steal all the votes they could. Estimates of actual plurality run as high as 40,000.

With scores of publications coming to the office, UNITY is one of the two publications I always read. The other one is published on a sheep ranch in Arkansas.

Very truly,

Cleveland, Ohio. B.

FROM AN AUSTRALIAN FRIEND

Dear UNITY:

In writing for a membership in UNITY I want to say what an excellent paper I find it. A wish to know about Gandhi and his work from a true source, brought me in contact with a copy. . . . Give me good notice when my subscription is running out, as I intend to keep the paper always by me.

Wishing for your ideals and UNITY increasing success. Yours faithfully, J. K.

Melbourne, Australia.

AN INDEX OF PROGRESS

Now that the leading organ of Unitarianism, the *Christian Register*, has established its sub-title—"Journal of the Free Churches"—and the Park Avenue Baptist Church of New York is to drop its sectarian name, make immersion optional and membership open to any Christian desiring to join, it seems an appropriate time to call attention to a somewhat similar index of progress within the Unitarian communion.

When, in 1893, the "First Unitarian Society of Tacoma" was reorganized under the name of "The First Free Church of Tacoma," the minister and trustees, being most desirous to retain their cherished fellowship in the denomination, requested the secretary of the American Unitarian Association to list the church in the Year Book under a separate category of "affiliated churches." To the sincere sorrow of all Tacomans concerned, the request was refused, and the church, in consequence, was obliged to relinquish its old-time association.

Today a most promising project is being contemplated, and, if consummated, will mark a distinct advance upon the attitude taken by the American Unitarian Association in 1893. As many readers of the *Register* know, the Tacoma Free Church, founded in that year, and the Seattle "Society for Universal Religion," organized by the Tacoma minister four years later, have been without a leader for a number of years. It is also well known that the Unitarians resident in Tacoma have been churchless for nearly three decades and that the First Unitarian Church of Seattle is again without a pastor. To meet this deplorable situation, it has just been proposed by the newly-elected President of the Pacific Coast Unitarian Conference (after consultation with the ex-minister of the Tacoma and Seattle Free Churches) to amalgamate the Unitarian and Free Churchpeople in each city under a non-sectarian name and aim, and to provide the united group in each city with a competent leader.

May the project be crowned with speedy and genuine success! It marks a most welcome forward step toward that ideal of religious co-operation for which the First Unitarian Society of Tacoma sought in vain when, thirty years ago, it changed its name to the First Free Church.

New York. ALFRED W. MARTIN.

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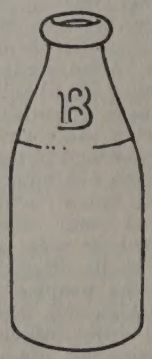

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